

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01836 01 OF 03 060657Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 CU-04 COME-00 OIC-02
TRSE-00 BIB-01 ACDA-12 OES-07 /104 W
-----123211 060743Z /16

O R 060609Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5647
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VEIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 1836

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

CINCEUR FOR POLAND

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 25 - MARCH 3

SUMMARY: ALLIES AND SOVIETS ARE AGREED ON A SHORT DRAFT
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SIMILAR IN MOST RESPECTS TO THAT DEVELOPED
LAST WEEK BY NATO CAUCUS. FILED FORMALLY IN PLENARY BY
DENMARK MARCH 2, IT IS ESSENTIALLY NON-SUBSTANTIVE WITH ONLY
SINGLE ELEMENT NOT REQUIRED BY FINAL ACT ITSELF -- A MEDITERRANEAN
EXPERTS GROUP LIMITED TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL
SUBJECTS. ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, WITH SUPPORT FROM AT
LEAST MOST OTHER MEMBERS OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) CAUCUS,
HOWEVER, ARE CONTINUING EFFORTS TO GET SOMETHING MORE INTO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01836 01 OF 03 060657Z

CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. MAIN POINT AT ISSUE AS CONFERENCE HEADS
INTO WEEKEND AND POSSIBLY NIGHT SESSIONS IN EFFORT TO WRAP UP
ITS WORK IS PROPOSED EXPERTS GROUP IN MILITARY AREA. FOR DIFFERENT
REASONS BOTH EAST AND WEST SAY CONSENSUS IS IMPOSSIBLE AND WARN
THAT MUCH MORE DELAY COULD IMPERIL EVEN MINIMALIST DOCUMENT ON
WHICH AGREEMENT NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE. END SUMMARY.

1. WITH CONFERENCE ALREADY WELL PAST ITS TARGET DATE FOR CLOSING, SOVIETS HINTING THAT TIME LEFT IS SHORT, AND DELEGATES CASTING CONCERNED GLANCES BOTH AT SKEPTICAL PRESS REPORTS AND LONG-NEGLECTED FAMILIES, EVENTS ARE TELESOPING IN RAPID SUCCESSION. YUGOSLAV EFFORT TO BREATHE LIFE INTO CONCEPT OF A FAIRLY SUBSTANTIVE THOUGH SHORT DOCUMENT INITIATED FEBRUARY 23 WITH CIRCULATION OF NON-PAPER LOOSELY SUPPORTED BY OTHER NNA RAN ITS COURSE BY FEBRUARY 28. ALLIES HAD HOPED TO AVOID HAVING TO TAKE ON ONUS OF INTRODUCING PAPER THAT FINALLY CONCEDED NO AGREEMENT ON REAL SUBSTANCE WAS POSSIBLE. WE HAD FOUND DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THROUGH TO NNA AS A GROUP AND TO YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR PESIC IN PRIVATE MEETINGS OVER WEEKEND, HOWEVER, THAT OUR POSITION WAS FIRM AGAINST AN ALLEGEDLY SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT THAT IGNORED OUR KEY CONCERNS INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS. THERE WERE INCREASING SIGNS THAT YUGOSLAWS WERE PREPARED TO MODIFY THEIR PAPER TO TAKE SOVIET SUGGESTIONS INTO ACCOUNT AND THAT SOVIETS WERE TEMPTED, DESPITE THEIR ALLEGED DESIRE TO END MEETING QUICKLY, TO PLAY GAME OF SUPPORTING AN NNA INITIATIVE THAT THEY KNEW ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO REJECT.

2. ALLIES DECIDED AT START OF WEEK, THEREFORE, THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO GET OUR SHORT-NON-SUBSTANTIVE TEXT FORMALLY ON TABLE QUICKLY. CAUCUS DELAYED FOR A DAY IN ORDER TO GIVE FRG CHANGE TO TRY OUT IN MOSCOW IDEA THAT DOCUMENT COULD AT LEAST INCLUDE A SENTENCE DETAILING SPECIFIC SUBJECTS DISCUSSED -- INCLUDING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 01836 01 OF 03 060657Z

HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS. FRG BELIEVED THAT SUCH A SENTENCE WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION TO ACCEPT THAT BELGRADE MEETING DID NOT MARK SET-BACK FOR OVERALL DETENTE POLICY. SOVIETS TURNED GERMAN DEMARCHE DOWN QUICKLY, HOWEVER, AND ALLIES FILED PAPER FEBRUARY 28. WITH YUGOSLAWS RECONSIDERING THEIR OPTIONS AND REST OF NNA, MOST OF WHOM HAD BEEN NOT MUCH MORE THAN LUKEWARM IN SUPPORT OF FEBRUARY 23 PAPER IN SOME DIS-ARRAY, ROMANIANS CAME FORWARD AS LAST FULL-FLEDGED CHAMPION OF EFFORT TO INCLUDE AT LEAST SELECTIVE SUBSTANCE, PROPOSING THAT POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS BE CREATED ON A MILITARY, MEDITERRANEAN AND INFORMATION QUESTIONS.

3. CONFERENCE MAINTAINED FORMAL SCHEDULE OF PLENARY SESSIONS THROUGHOUT WEEK, BUT FEBRUARY 28 - MARCH 1 PERIOD WAS DEVOTED TO INTENSE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS IN EFFORT TO RECONCILE WESTERN AND ROMANIAN DRAFTS. MAIN CONTACT GROUP CONSISTED OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR, REPRESENTING NATO CAUCUS, SOVIET AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV, AND YUGOSLAV, ROMANIAN, MALTESE, SWISS AND SWEDISH AMBASSADORS. IN ADDITION, THE TWO ALLIED REPS AND VORONTSOV HELD SEVERAL SEPARATE MEETINGS. SOVIETS TOOK AMBIGUOUS LINE AT FIRST, INDICATING TO WESTERN REPS THAT THEY IN FACT PREFERRED OUR SHORT, NON-SUBSTANTIVE PAPER AS BEST WAY TO END

MEETING QUICKLY, BUT SUGGESTING TO LARGER GROUP THAT THEY
PREFERRED TO TRY FOR SOMETHING MORE AMBITIOUS ON BASIS EITHER
OF YUGOSLAV PAPER OR ROMANIAN TEXT. AFTER TWO DAYS, HOWEVER,
SOVIETS FINALLY CAME DOWN IN FAVOR OF QUICK END TO
MEETING AND AGREED TO WHAT WAS ESSENTIALLY WESTERN DRAFT. THIS
PAPER WAS PRESENTED TO INFORMAL AMBASSADORIAL CONTACT GROUP EVEN-
ING OF MARCH 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01836 02 OF 03 060728Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 CU-04 COME-00 OIC-02
TRSE-00 BIB-01 ACDA-12 OES-07 /104 W
-----123333 060744Z /16

O R 060609Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5648
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 1836

4. ALLIES AND SOVIETS AGREED TO TABLE PAPER FORMALLY MARCH 2
WITH DANISH SPONSORSHIP, BUT HARD CORE, CONSISTING PRIMARILY
OF ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, THOUGH WITH MUCH SYMPATHY AND SOME
SUPPORT FROM OTHER NNA, CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT DANISH PAPER
WOULD REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT AMENDMENTS. MOST IMPORTANT, FORMALIZED
IN ROMANIAN PAPER CIRCULATED MARCH 3, ARE MILITARY EXPERTS GROUP
AND EFFORT TO RECOVER GROUND LOST WHEN SOVIETS PULLED BACK THEIR
AGREEMENT AT START OF WEEK TO CONCEPT OF HOLDING BELGRADE/MADRID-
STYLE MEETINGS "AT APPROPRIATE INTERVALS."

5. THE PAPER WHICH ALLIES SUPPORT IS IN NO ONE'S VIEW AN
IDEAL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. IT IS BARELY ABOVE THE MINIMUM
TECHNICAL REQUIREMENT FOR SUCH A DOCUMENT LAID DOWN IN
THE PREPARATORY MEETING'S DECISIONS. IT INCLUDES A FEW
SHORT PROTOCOL PARAGRAPHS; A RECONFIRMATION OF THE
COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT;
A RECOGNITION OF THE USEFULNESS OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

CONDUCTED AT BELGRADE AND OF THE FACT THAT DIFFERENT VIEWS WERE
EXPRESSED ON THE DEGREE OF IMPLEMENTATION, AND AN ADMISSION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01836 02 OF 03 060728Z

THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MANY PROPOSALS.
IT SETS THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT SIMILAR MEETING AS
REQUIRED BY THE DECISIONS (MADRID, PREPARATORY MEETING BEGINNING
SEPTEMBER 9, 1980, AND MAIN MEETING BEGINNING NOVEMBER 11, 1980);
IT INCLUDES THE TWO EXPERTS GROUPS MANDATED BY THE FINAL ACT
(PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND A SCIENTIFIC FORUM, AND
ADDS AN EXPERTS GROUP TO STUDY POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION
WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES IN ECONOMIC,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS.

6. THE DOCUMENT IS SUFFICIENTLY SHORT AND NON-SUBSTANTIVE TO
AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THE WEST ACCEPTED A MAJOR
STATEMENT ON CSCE AND DETENTE WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE AN EXPLICIT
REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS. CLEARLY THE TEXT IS CLOSE TO THE
MINIMUM REQUIRED, AND IT CANNOT BE USED BY THE SOVIETS TO CLAIM
THAT ONE OR ANOTHER ELEMENT OF THE FINAL ACT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED
TO BE MORE IMPORTANT TO DETENTE THAN HUMAN RIGHTS OR BASKET
THREE.

7. THERE IS, OF COURSE, AN ANOMALY -- THE MEDITERRANEAN.
THE SOVIETS HAVE ALWAYS ADOPTED A RELAXED ATTITUDE TO THE
MALTESE EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF MEDITERRANEAN SUBJECTS
IN THE CSCE. THE ALLIES WERE RELUCTANT TO CONCEDE THE MALTESE
AN EXPERTS GROUP, PARTICULARLY IN A DOCUMENT THAT WOULD OTHERWISE
VIRTUALLY BE WITHOUT NEW SUBSTANCE. IT WAS DECIDED, HOWEVER,
THAT CONSENSUS COULD BE ACHIEVED ON A NARROWLY MANDATED EXPERTS
GROUP THAT WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DEAL WITH SENSITIVE REGIONAL
POLITICAL/SECURITY SUBJECTS, AND THAT THIS OFFER MIGHT REMOVE
ONE OF THE POTENTIALLY MOST STUBBORN DELEGATIONS FROM THE RANKS
OF THE HOLD-OUTS. AT THE END OF THE WEEK, HOWEVER, THE MALTESE
REMAINED COY, INDICATING THAT THEY STILL HOPE TO EXPAND THE
MANDATE A BIT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 01836 02 OF 03 060728Z

8. THE ALLIES ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT THE OFFER OF A MEDITERRANEAN
GROUP TO THE MALTESE, WEAKENING AS IT DID THE ARGUMENT OF PRIN-
CIPLE THAT SELECTIVE SUBSTANCE IS NOT ACCEPTABLE, COULD ENCOURAGE
THE YUGOSLAVS AND THE ROMANIANS TO FIGHT ALL THE HARDER FOR A
MILITARY GROUP. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SITUATIONS,
HOWEVER, IS A PRACTICAL ONE. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE IS NO
POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING CONSENSUS ON THE IDEA OF A MILITARY

GROUP MUCH LESS ITS MANDATE. IT IS POSSIBLE ONLY TO
AGREE TO DISAGREE -- AND THEN NOT TO INCLUDE THE SUBJECT IN THE
DOCUMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01836 03 OF 03 060736Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 CU-04 COME-00 OIC-02
TRSE-00 BIB-01 ACDA-12 OES-07 /104 W
-----123371 060743Z /16

O R 060609Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5649
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 1836

9. THE GREAT BENEFIT OF THE PRESENT DRAFT DOCUMENT, HOWEVER,
IS THAT IT IS ONE ON WHICH EAST AND WEST CAN AGREE. HOWEVER
MINIMALIST, THEREFORE, IT WOULD MAINTAIN THE PROCESS WHICH EVEN
OPTIMISTS RECOGNIZE IS A LONG-TERM ONE. THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN
OCCASIONAL INDICATIONS THAT THEY WOULD BE LESS THAN FULLY
DISPLEASED TO HAVE A PLAUSIBLE EXCUSE TO SCUTTLE THE FOLLOW-UP
PROCESS, AND A HOPELESSLY DEADLOCKED MEETING COULD GIVE THEM
THAT EXCUSE. INDEED, IN REJECTING PROPOSED NNA AMENDMENTS TO
THE TEXT MARCH 2, AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV WARNED THAT IF THE PRESENT
OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSENSUS WERE LOST, THERE MIGHT BE NO CON-
CLUDING DOCUMENT AT ALL. THE MOST THE BELGRADE MEETING COULD
THEN ACHIEVE WOULD BE AN AGREEMENT TO RECONVENE IN MADRID IN
1980.

10. IT WILL NOT BE PAINLESS FOR THE YUGOSLAVS AND THE ROMANIANS,
WHO CLEARLY FEEL THAT MAJOR NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED,
OR FOR THE OTHER NNA TO ACCEPT THIS POLITICAL REALITY, PARTICU-
LARLY SINCE THEY ARE ALWAYS SENSITIVE TO APPEARANCES OF BIG
POWER COLLUSION. WE WOULD EXPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01836 03 OF 03 060736Z

TEXT WILL BE ACCEPTED WITHIN A FEW DAYS WITH NO MORE THAN
COSMETIC MODIFICATIONS AND THAT THE CONCLUDING PLENARY SPEECHES
WILL BE GIVEN DURING THE NEXT WEEK. WE WOULD HOPE THAT WHEN
THEY ARE ABLE TO STAND BACK A BIT FROM THE SWIRL OF THE PAST FEW
DAYS' NEGOTIATIONS, EVEN THE LAST HOLD-OUTS WILL CONCUR IN OUR
CONCLUSION THAT THE MEETING AS A WHOLE HAS BEEN A SOLID SUCCESS
AND THAT IT IS ENDING IN A MANNER THAT AT LEAST WILL ENSURE
THAT THE FINAL ACT AND ITS FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS WILL REMAIN ACTIVE
FORCES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS.

GOLDBERG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA01836
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780100-0438
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197803104/aaaadklh.tel
Line Count: 292
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 493a7bb8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3111857
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 25 - MARCH 3 SUMMARY: ALLIES AND SOVIETS ARE AGREED ON A SHORT DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SIMILAR IN MOST RESPECTS TO TH
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/493a7bb8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014